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19 September 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

**SUBJECT: Conversation with Walter Pincus and Roland Paul,
Investigators for the Subcommittee on U. S. Agreements
and Commitments Abroad of Senate Foreign Relations
Committee**

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25X1A 1. Today [] and I met with Messrs. Pincus and Paul in connection with Senator Symington's request for [] to appear before his Subcommittee. Details of our conversation on this matter are contained in [] memorandum, copy attached hereto.

25X1A 25X1A 2. Following our discussion of [] appearance, I mentioned Mr. Paul's earlier telephone inquiry to [] regarding Chinese and North Vietnamese deaths during the communization of these two countries. I said there was no official community estimate of these figures since different versions varied so widely. Mao had indirectly confirmed 800,000 deaths in China during the collectivization drive, whereas the ChiNats had mentioned a figure of 15 million. The experts seemed generally to lean to a figure around 2 or 3 million.

3. The land reform program in Vietnam (1953-1956), I said, probably resulted in between 50 and 100 thousand deaths and perhaps an equal number of indirect fatalities resulting from starvation, disease, etc. I said it was quite impossible to estimate how many casualties might result from a North Vietnamese takeover of South Vietnam.

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1 - Chief FE (via DDP)

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**JOHN M. MAURY
Legislative Counsel**

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22 September 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Meeting with Messrs. Walter Pincus and Roland Paul, 19 September 1969

25X1A 1. A meeting, arranged by Mr. John Maury, was held with Messrs. Walter Pincus and Roland Paul (investigators for the Symington Subcommittee on U.S. involvements and commitments abroad) on 19 September between 1615 and 1700 hours for the purpose of ascertaining the areas and general line of questioning, the security considerations and the general modalities of the scheduled executive session hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, at which [] has been requested to appear.

25X1 2. Mr. Maury opened the discussion by expressing Agency concern that testifying before this committee was in fact setting a precedent. Our concern was that we were testifying to members of the Senate other than our own subcommittee and that the subject matter to be discussed was not a general situation briefing but a discussion of operational activities. In addition, there was the matter of public record despite the fact that these hearings were to be in executive session. Mr. Maury pointed out that throughout the world many of our programs depended for their success on the confidence and close relations that we had developed not only []

25X1 25X1A [] Mr. Maury also raised the question of the protection of [] who, as a career officer in the Clandestine Service, would depend on continued anonymity and lack of public identification as a CIA officer for his career. Mr. Pincus replied that of course he and Mr. Paul would not reveal []

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identity but we must realize that there will be a lot of sharp newspapermen around and these things usually come out one way or another. Therefore, Mr. Pincus made clear, we should not hold him responsible for any leaks in this regard.

3. In response to Mr. Maury, Mr. Pincus stated that perhaps it would help for the Agency to view these hearings as an opportunity to educate the Senators involved. It was an effort by Senator Symington to get on the record the story of U.S. involvement in various countries abroad and how we got there. He did not see how the story of Laos could be understood without the inclusion of CIA's activities and the role it has played. As for the transcript, Senator Symington expects to be able to publish the results of his committee hearings and Mr. Pincus could not see how "100 pages could be missing". Mr. Maury mentioned that in previous instances arrangements had been made for a "transcript with custody by the Agency". Mr. Paul appeared to have some difficulty with this and stated he would expect this to be immediately available if this method was decided upon and that "would we have some enlisted man prepared to run this immediately to his office at any time should he call for it".

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On the subject of the protection of [] both Messrs. Pincus and Paul appeared to appreciate this point and stated there were various ways to get [] into the hearings without running the risk of exposure to the news reporters that would obviously be following this hearing very closely. Mr. Pincus then mentioned there would be TV cameras outside the hearing room at all times but that Senators Fulbright and Symington would probably make TV statements after the various hearing sessions and [] could remain behind and then slip out a side door or otherwise inconspicuously withdraw. Mr. Maury said that he would have to discuss the security problems with Mr. Helms.

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4. [] then questioned Messrs. Pincus and Paul on the general area of questioning that would be included in the hearing. Mr. Pincus stated that we would be provided with a detailed questionnaire early in the week of 22 September. We are to prepare a statement based on this questionnaire but not necessarily limited to it. Both Messrs. Pincus and Paul felt that we may want to expand on

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25X1A some of the questions that would be asked in the questionnaire and
include other aspects which might occur to us. They felt the
questioning by the Senators would be free flowing and would not be
25X1A limited to the questions in the questionnaire. They noted that any
Senator present could ask any question he wished. We have been
given a dispensation of submitting one copy of the prepared statement
instead of the normally required 15 copies. Mr. Pincus stated that,
since the prepared statement would probably be fairly lengthy, they
would expect a summary which would be read by [] giving
the essentials of the information contained in the prepared statement.
25X1A Both Mr. Pincus and Mr. Paul stated several times that, since
[] had been in Laos only one and a half years, we might
want to introduce an additional officer or officers who are more
qualified to report on and discuss questions concerning the early
25X1A history of CIA's involvement in Laos. Neither Mr. Maury nor
[] made any comment on additional officers being present.

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25X1A 5. In following up on the questionnaire, [] asked
if we could be assured that the question areas we were to address in
our prepared statement would be on CIA activities in Laos and that
[] would not be required to provide testimony on the
activities of other country mission elements. Mr. Paul reacted to
25X1A this question and stated, "I don't know what's behind your question,
but certainly [] is aware of what other agencies are doing
25X1A in Laos." [] responded that there was nothing behind his
question other than to seek information on what was being required of
25X1A []. He stated that whereas any officer who has served in
a senior capacity overseas and dealt with a country team was aware
in general of their activities, he could not be expected to speak
authoritatively on any other agency's activities other than CIA.
Mr. Paul stated that, whereas the questionnaire would be on CIA's
25X1A activities, there was no control over what the Senators might ask
[]

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6. [] asked who would be present in the room
during the hearings. Messrs. Pincus and Paul responded jointly,
providing the following list: Senators Symington, Fulbright,

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Mansfield, Aiken, Cooper, Sparkman and Javits; Messrs. Pincus and Paul; Messrs. Earl Marcy and Pat Holt of the Foreign Relations Committee Staff; and a transcriber from a commercial firm who, they assured us, had appropriate clearances. Mr. Pincus was then asked if we could know the other witnesses being asked to appear before the committee. Although I doubt this is a complete list, it included: Ambassador Sullivan, Col. Tyrell (Air Attache in Laos), Mr. Wagner (AID/Laos), Col. Russell ([redacted] responsible for logistics in Laos), and a Major Thomas (former Air Attache at Luang Prabang).

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7. Mr. Pincus returned to the problem of how the record could be made public and obviously seemed concerned over our reservations on the inclusion of any CIA transcript. Mr. Pincus stated there will have to be a published transcript on Laos but obviously he had not thought through the problems that would occur by having a CIA witness.

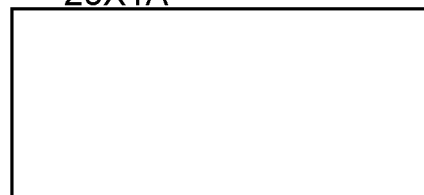
8. Mr. Paul then mentioned that a number of things had happened in Laos since their visit and they would expect us to include a current updating of these in our prepared statement. [redacted] attempted to clarify this by asking if he intended a current statement on the military and political situation versus operations. He immediately replied, "You used the wrong conjunction. I mean 'and'." [redacted] thanked him for his clarification.

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9. Mr. Maury then provided Mr. Paul with information on several subjects that had been previously submitted to Mr. Maury for answers. The meeting appeared to end fairly amicably and we were promised the detailed questionnaire as soon as possible with the proviso that we would be able to seek further clarification of any questions as necessary.

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Memorandum for the Record dated 22 September 1969

Subject: Meeting with Messrs. Pincus and Paul, 19 September 1969

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